

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 164456

62

ORIGIN NEA-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-02 /005 R

66610

DRAFTED BY: NEA/INS:RDLORTON:MK

APPROVED BYJC NEA/INS:RBMORLEY

EUR/SOV:BZOOK

----- 033072

R 292034Z JUL 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 164456

FOLLOWING REPEAT MOSCOW 11367 ACTION SECSTATE INFO CINCPAC
HONG KONG LENINGRAD LONDON NEW DELHI PARIS PEKING PHNOM PENH
RANGOON TAIPEI TOKYO WELLINGTON USUN 23 JUL

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 11367

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652 XGDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR

SUBJ: SOVIET VIEWS ON ASIAN QUESTIONS

REF: PEKING 1188

1. SUMMARY. MIKHAIL KAPITSA, CHIEF OF THE MFA FIRST
FAR EASTERN DIVISION (CHINA), MADE THE FOLLOWING MAJOR
POINTS IN TALKING WITH NEW ZEALAND DIPLOMATS IN MOSCOW:

A. AT THE UN, THE SOVIETS WOULD SUPPORT NORTH KOREA BUT
PYONGYANG HAD APPARENTLY NOT YET DECIDED ON ITS TACTICS;
SIHANOUK'S GRUNK WILLHAVE CHINESE AND SOME THIRD
WORLD SUPPORT BUT WILL HAVE AN UPHILL BATTLE TO GAIN A
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 164456

SEAT.

B. ON SINO-SOVIET QUESTIONS, ILYICHEV TOOK NO NEW PROPOSALS TO THE RESUMED SINO-SOVIET BORDER TALKS; THE BEST LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIP THAT KAPITSA COULD ENVISAGE WAS ONE SIMILAR TO THE SOVIET-EAST GERMAN MODEL;

C. THE RUMORED WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE HAD NOT YET REACHED THE STAGE OF CONCRETE PLANNING; AND

D. THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN IN CHINA WAS, IN KAPITSA'S VIEW, AN EFFORT BY MAO TO STRENGTHEN THE "SHANGHAI GROUP" AS HIS LONG-TERM SUCCESSORS TO POLITICAL LEADERSHIP.

2. ACTION REQUESTED: AMBASSADOR HARLAND REQUESTED THAT U.S. MISSIONS IN HONG KONG, PEKING AND WELLINGTON PASS COPIES OF THIS REPORT TO THEIR NEW ZEALAND COUNTERPARTS. END SUMMARY.

3. W. BRYCE HARLAND, ACCOMPANIED BY BRIAN S. LENDRUM, NEW ZEALAND'S AMBASSADORS TO PEKING AND MOSCOW RESPECTIVELY, CALLED ON AMBASSADOR STOESSEL ON JULY 22 TO DISCUSS THEIR CONVERSATION WITH KAPITSA HELD EARLIER THAT DAY. KAPITSA HAD IMPRESSED THEM AS BEING SHARP, WELL-INFORMED, CORDIAL AND GENERALLY FREE OF IDEOLOGICAL BLINDERS.

4. ON UN QUESTIONS, KAPITSA INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS (AND THE CHINESE) WOULD SUPPORT NORTH KOREA IN WHICHEVER COURSE IT CHOSE TO FOLLOW. THUS FAR, HOWEVER, PYONGYANG HAD NOT DECIDED ON ITS TACTICS AND WAS AWAITING A REPLY FROM THE U.S. ON ITS OFFER OF DIRECT TALKS. WHETHER THEY REALLY EXPECT A FAVORABLE REPLY IS NOT KNOWN, BUT THIS IS THE REASON THEY GIVE FOR NOT HAVING DECIDED YET ON THEIR APPROACH AT THE UN. IN ADDITION, SAID KAPITSA, THE CHINESE WILL SUPPORT THE EFFORT TO HAVE SIHANOUK'S GRUNK SEATED IN PLACE OF THE GKR AS CAMBODIA'S REPRESENTATIVE. IT IS NOT CLEAR YET WHETHER PEKING PLANS TO LEAD THE FIGHT, OR TO LEAVE IT TO SOME OF SIHANOUK'S THIRD WORLD FRIENDS LIKE THE ALGERIANS. IN ANY CASE, KAPITSA FELT THAT THEY WOULD CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 164456

HAVE AN UPHILL BATTLE. (HARLAND PERSONALLY DOUBTED THIS.) THE QUESTION WAS NOT COMPARABLE TO CHINA'S OWN CASE, WHICH WAS SUPPORTED BY THE WEIGHT OF LONG-TERM TERRITORIAL CONTROL.

5. ON CAMBODIA GENERALLY, KAPITSA REFLECTED MOSCOW'S NON-COMMITTAL APPROACH. HE VIEWED PEKING'S RECENT WOOING OF KHIEU SAMPHAN AS AN EFFORT TO FORCE A WORKABLE MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE KHMER ROUGE AND SIHANOUK, AND THE

DIRECT PRC AID AS AN ATTEMPT TO WEAN KHIEU AWAY FROM HANOI'S DOMINATION. HE AGREED WITH HARLAND THAT PEKING PROBABLY FAVORED A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, BUT THE KEY WAS WHETHER KHIEU FELT THAT MORE WAS TO BE GAINED BY A SETTLEMENT NOW WHICH HAD SOME ELEMENTS OF COMPROMISE, THEREBY SAVING THE U.S.'S AND LONNOL'S FACES, OR WHETHER HE PREFERRED TO KEEP ON FIGHTING IN HOPES OF WINNING EVERYTHING. IN KAPITSA'S VIEW, THE KHMER ROUGE WOULD QUICKLY BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE REAL POWER THROUGH ANY LIKELY COMPROMISE MACHNIERY ("LIKE CATCHING RIPE FRUIT"), BUT THEY WERE UNLIKELY IN THE SHORT TERM TO WIN DECISIVELY ON THE BATTLEFIELD. HARLAND'S PERSONAL ASSESSMENT WAS THAT THE SOVIETS SEE THEMSELVES AS HAVING VERY LIMITED ASSETS IN CAMBODIA AND HAVING THEREFORE DECIDED TO SIT ON THE SIDELINES FOR THE PRESENT. IN THE LONGER TERM, HE SEES THEM SUPPORTING HANOI AS THE FORCE MOST LIKELY TO LIMIT CHINESE INFLUENCE AND THEREFORE SERVE THEIR OWN INTERESTS IN CAMBODIA.

6. ON SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, KAPITSA STATED CATEGORICALLY THAT VICE FOREIGN MINISTER ILYICHEV HAD TAKEN NO NEW PROPOSALS TO PEKING FOR THE BORDER NEGOTIATIONS. (HARLAND NOTED THAT THIS REFUTED HIS EARLIER INFORMATION FROM THE ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR IN PEKING, REFTEL.) KAPITSA SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD TABLED EIGHT NEW PROPOSALS LAST YEAR, BUT HAD DRAWN NO FAVORABLE CHINESE RESPONSE. IN ONE OF THOSE DRAFTS, THE SOVIETS HAD ACCEPTED THE CHINESE CONTENTION THAT THE MAIN CHANNEL BE THE BOUNDARY OF THE BORDER RIVERS, BUT "OF COURSE" THE ISLANDS OPPOSITE KHABAROVSK WERE ON THE SOVIET SIDE. KAPITSA CLEARLY EXPECTED NO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN THE RESUMED TALKS AND SAID THAT ILYICHEV WOULD PROBABLY

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 164456

BE BACK IN MOSCOW BEFORE LONG. TO HARLAND'S QUESTION ON WHY ILYICHEV HAD BEEN SENT BACK AT ALL, KAPITSA REPLIED THAT IT WAS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE SOVIET SIDE WAS WILLING TO KEEP THE TALKS GOING, THAT THEY WERE NOT THE INTRANSIGENT ONES. TO HARLAND'S SUGGESTION THAT ILYICHEV'S RETURN WAS RELATED TO MOSCOW'S PLANS FOR A WORLD COMMUNIST CONFAB, KAPITSA REACTED WITH VISIBLE IRRITATION. HE SAID THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH A MEETING WAS BEING DISCUSSED AMONG INTERESTED PARTIES AND THAT THE SOVIETS TAKE AN INTEREST IN THE VIEWS EXPRESSED, BUT THAT ANY SPECIFIC PLANNING WAS STILL SOME TIME AWAY. HARLAND INFERRED FROM THIS UNNECESSARILY FIRM DENIAL THAT IN FACT IT WAS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL FACTORS IN ILYICHEV'S RETURN. KAPITSA DISMISSED THE NOTION THAT THE TIMING WAS RELATED TO

PRESIDENT NIXON'S MOST RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW.

7. LOOKING TO THE FUTURE, KAPITSA SAW NO PROSPECT THAT SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS WOULD EVER GET BACK TO THE DEGREE OF CORDIALITY WHICH HAD EXISTED IN THE FIFTIES. SOME IMPROVEMENT WAS POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, PERHAPS TO THE STAGE OF SOVIET-WEST GERMAN RELATIONS. THE CHINESE AT SOME POINT WOULD SEE THE ADVANTAGE TO THEMSELVES OF HAVING A MORE BALANCED RELATIONSHIP WITH BOTH MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON. ALREADY SOME COOLING HAD OCCURRED WITH THE U.S. AND MORE WOULD FOLLOW IF THE "LEFTISTS" EMERGED AT THE DOMINANT SUCCESSORS TO MAO AND CHOU. KAPITSA AGREED WITH HARLAND THAT PEKING'S URGENT ECONOMIC NEEDS WOULD IMPELL IT TO MAINTAIN REASONABLY GOOD TIES WITH WASHINGTON FOR THE VISIBLE FUTURE IN ORDER TO HAVE ACCESS TO MODERN TECHNOLOGY, BUT HE DOUBTED WHETHER THE "LEFTISTS" ADEQUATELY UNDERSTOOD THOSE NEEDS. KAPITSA WARNED THAT THE U.S. (AND OTHERS) SHOULD BE PARTICULARLY WARY OF CHINA'S EXPANSIONIST AIMS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. "LOOK WHAT THEY'RE DOING IN BURMA, FOR EXAMPLE." (AMBASSADOR STOESSEL INTERJECTED THAT VICE FOREIGN MINISTER FIRYUBIN, WITH NO VISIBLE IRONY, HAD ALSO BEEN MUCH EXERCISED OVER PEKING'S ALLEGED ATTEMPTS TO USE PARTY CONTACTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA FOR SUBSERSIVE PURPOSES.)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 164456

8. ON THE PRC DOMESTIC SCENE, KAPITSA SAID THAT BOTH MAO AND CHOU WOULD SOON BE GONE AND THAT A COLLECTIVE SUCCESSION HEADED BY TENG HSIAO-PING AND LI HSIEN-NIEN WAS THE MOST LIKELY SHORT-TERM PROSPECT. IN THAT CONNECTION, HE SAW THE PRESENT DOMESTIC CAMPAIGN AS AN ATTEMPT BY MAO TO STRENGTHEN THE "SHANGHAI GROUP" AS HIS IDEOLOGICAL SUCCESSORS AND AS THE ULTIMATE INHERITORS OF HIS POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. KAPITSA FELT, HOWEVER, THAT THE "SHANGHAI GROUP" LACKED PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE AND HE LISTED SPECIFIC WEAKNESSES FOR EACH OF THEM. HE WENT ON TO SAY, "IN YOUR CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, YOU HAVE ALL SORTS OF BUSINESSMEN AND OTHERS TO TAKE CARE OF PRACTICAL MATTERS, BUT IN OUR SYSTEM THE GOVERNMENT LEADERS MUST KNOW EVERY DETAIL, EVEN HOW TO MAKE A NAIL." IN HIS VIEW, NONE OF THE SHANGHAI FIGURES HAD THAT KIND OF EXPERIENCE. HARLAND COUNTERED THAT AT LEAST ONE SHANGHAI "RADICAL" HE HAD MET SEEMED HIGHLY CONCERNED WITH THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING SHANGHAI, BUT KAPITSA DID NOT REACT. IN HIS VIEW, MAO SAW A NEED TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE SO-CALLED "PRAGMATISTS" MUST SERVE UNDER THE IDEOLOGICAL TUTELAGE

OF THE PARTY AND THAT THE MILITARY MUST CONCENTRATE ON MILITARY FUNCTIONS. IN STRIKING CONTRAST TO SOVIET PROPAGANDA, HOWEVER, KAPITSA DID NOT ONCE DESCRIBE THE PRESENT PHASE AS A "POWER STRUGGLE" OR IMPLY THAT HE EXPECTED A MAJOR UPHEAVAL AFTER MAO'S DEATH. SOME TYPE OF MANEUVERING WAS INEVITABLE AND ALMOST CONSTANT, BUT THIS DID NOT IMPLY THAT THE COUNTRY OR THE LEADERSHIP WOULD FALL APART. KAPITSA'S MAIN FOCUS WAS CLEARLY ON MAO, BOTH AS A SYMBOLIC FIGURE AND AS AN ACTIVE LEADER IN OPERATIONAL MATTERS. WITH A CLOSING CAVEAT, HE SAID THAT NO ONE CAN FORESEE THE OUTCOME AFTER TOWERING LEADERS FALL. "AFTER ALL, WHO WOULD HAVE EXPECTED KHRUSHCHEV TO EMERGE AFTER STALIN'S DEATH?"

STOESSEL UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PROCOMMUNIST, COMMUNIST MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 JUL 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE164456
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: NEA/INS:RDLORTON:MK
Enclosure: DG ALTERED
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740206-0476
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t1974079/aaaaahaq.tel
Line Count: 238
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: PEKING 1188
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 APR 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <24 FEB 2003 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET VIEWS ON ASIAN QUESTIONS
TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR
To: KATHMANDU COLOMBO
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005